1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
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action which is implied by such frequent travel, the villages composing this natural community remain separate and individual. The social intercourse of five hundred years or more has not destroyed the cultural peculiarities of each hamlet. This is because a change of residence is not common. Among the men of Tepoztlán very few—a guess would suggest fifty—were born outside the valley. More of the women are from other parts of Mexico. And even among the villages composing the community there is infrequent migration. The inhabitants cling closely to their ancestral lands. During part of the past period of revolution (1910–17) Tepoztlán was deserted; many of the houses were destroyed; yet when peace came most of the population returned, each family again to occupy the same housesite, to cultivate the same *milpa*, as they and their fathers had before.

Some of the cultural differences between villages have their origin in geographic differences. The most important concept of direction in Tepoztlán has to do with altitude. As in Polynesian islands where directions are not given in terms of the compass points but rather as "toward the sea" or "away from the sea," so in Tepoztlán a location with reference to the speaker is not usually given in terms of north, south, east, or west but is instead described as "down below" or "a little way above." The general appearance of the hamlet of San Juanico differs markedly from that of Tepoztlán. The two are no more than four miles apart, but one is two thousand feet above the other.

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

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Fig. 6. Rock terrace in Tepoztlán.

133 mations, lies the village of Tepoztlán.[6] (See Fig. 7.) These hills and rock out-
[361] croppings constitute two fairly well defined units. One begins just north of the village and curves toward the southeast, reaching to the neighboring municipio of Tlayacapan, a distance of about fifteen miles. The other begins just south of the village and extends to the east for a short distance to form the southern wall of the valley of Tepoztlán. The valley runs northwest-southeast and then turns directly south. The upper or northwestern end of the valley is considerably narrower than the lower end. The valley is drained by a small perennial stream locally known as the Río Atenco, which flows through the village and then turns east and south where it flows into the Yautepec River which in turn joins the Balsas River.

[823] The spectacular peaks and buttes of the rock outcroppings which rise to 1,200 feet above the village are locally known as *cerros* and are important landmarks to the people of Tepoztlán. Each *cerro* is known by its Náhuatl name and has an ancient 103 legend associated with it. Among the more important *cerros* are *El Tlahuitepetl*

101 [6] In the early sixteenth-century documents Tepoztlán is called "Tepuztlan." Writers on the history of the village have suggested that the term is derived from the Náhuatl *tepoztli* (iron) and *tlan* (abundance); that is, Tepoztlán means "place of abundant iron." But there are no iron deposits in Tepoztlán, nor is there evidence of any in the past. More recently, Muller has suggested another interpretation which would seem to be more in accord with all the facts. She suggests that Tepoztlán is the Hispanicized version of the older Nahua term *Tepoztectla*, which means "place of the broken rocks." This is derived from *tetl* (rock) and *postectli* (broken), and is an accurate description of the village site. Muller claims that some of the early chroniclers used this term for Tepoztlán. There would still remain the problem of explaining the use of a copper ax as the glyph for Tepoztlán in the Codex Mendocino. It may be that this glyph was used because they had no other way of showing broken rock. Certainly copper axes may have been imported by the village.

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With the exception of Santa Cruz (small) which, strictly speaking, is not an independent barrio but is about to become one, there are three large barrios: Santo Domingo, La Santísima, and San Miguel; and four smaller ones: Santa Cruz, Los Reyes, San Sebastián, and San Pedro. While topographic factors have played some role in fixing barrio boundaries, the larger barrios are grouped around the central plaza and the smaller ones are located above these on the ascending slope. However, the outer portions of the larger barrios are almost as distant from the center of the village as is the barrio of San Pedro. Since the entire village is built on a slope, the smaller barrios are called "los de arriba" and the larger ones "los de abajo."

Some Tepoztecans now use the road as a convenient dividing line between the upper and lower portions of the village. But the road cuts through the three larger barrios. The boundaries of the barrios are not always clearly defined, and we found considerable disagreement among informants concerning the limits. "Sometimes a boundary runs in the middle of a street and sometimes the houses on both sides pertain to the same *barrio*, the boundary then running just behind a row of houses. Occasionally there are irregular jogs which take a few houses out of a block and include them in another *barrio*. A whole block of houses, geographically in San Miguel, belong to the *barrio* of Santa Cruz although almost at the opposite end of the town." [19]

Barrio membership is primarily determined by the ownership of a house site in a barrio and the payment of the tax for the upkeep of the barrio. In this fashion, barrio stability is assured despite the considerable changes in residence which occur in the village. For it is the house site that traditionally belongs to one barrio or another, and whoever lives on it, whether he obtained it by inheritance or purchase, becomes a member of that barrio. In most cases a person belongs to the barrio in which he was born and raised. However, a man who was born and raised in the barrio of San Pedro may purchase a site in Santa Cruz and establish his home there. If he pays his tax and participates in the affairs of the barrio he automatically becomes a member of Santa Cruz. He may, for reasons of sentiment, continue to support his barrio of origin and will probably also attend the barrio fiesta of San Pedro, since many of his relatives will still be there. But this is voluntary. Since patrilocal residence after marriage predominates, the men of any barrio are generally more closely related than the women. A woman upon marriage becomes a member of her husband's barrio. However, women, more than men, maintain cross-barrio loyalties; they help their relatives in the barrio of origin to prepare the fiesta.

It should be noted that some persons own house sites in two or three barrios. In these cases they must pay the tax in each but participate in the religious and social life of the barrio in which they reside or where they were raised and born. Widows, as heads of families, pay the tax on their house sites and are considered as members in the barrio of their house site. Young couples sometimes buy a house

[19] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 70.

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2 *the village and the world outside:*

823 If we were to ask almost any Tepoztecan adult for his conception of the geography of the world, we would find that it is vague and spotty and limited to only a few countries.[1] He would know that there is a country called the United States which is close to Mexico and whose people are the light-skinned gringos who speak a different language, are Protestants, and manufacture machines. He knows that to the south of Mexico there are other countries like Guatemala which are Spanish speaking and Catholic. He also knows that some place in the world there is Spain, the land from which the *gachupines* came.[2] Many Tepoztecans know that in a distant land there is a city called Rome where the Pope, the "King of the Catholics," lives. Some have heard of Germany and Japan, the countries which were at war with the gringos.

829 In general their knowledge of peoples other than Mexicans is very slight. They think of any stranger who has a light complexion and blue eyes as a gringo or *norteamericano*. A German anthropologist who lived in the village was constantly referred to as a gringo. Tepoztecans have seen some Negroes and Chinese, the latter primarily as peddlers. Tepoztecans do not seem to be aware of nationality [186] differences and simply call most strangers "foreigners"; even light-skinned native-born Mexicans from other states, cities, and towns are included in this classification.

484 Most Tepoztecans have never been beyond the borders of Mexico, but in recent years there have been some exceptions. During the last war about fifteen Tepoztecan 829 men worked as laborers in the United States and all returned to the village. Among [464] this group were some comparatively well-educated men who were able to express their impressions and experiences and did much to impart new information about

[804] [1] Until the middle thirties when the road was built, Tepoztecans thought of distances primarily in terms of the amount of time it took to walk a certain distance. Thus they knew that it took about a day to get to Mexico City, two days to Jojutla. A five-day trip was about the greatest distance they could conceive. Now that most Tepoztecans ride the bus to Cuernavaca, their notions of distance are changing. However, they still do not think in terms of kilometers and find it difficult to conceive of the great distances between their village and the U.S.A. or Europe.

[2] *Gachupin* is a deprecatory term used to designate Spaniards.

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the U.S.A. to the villagers. In addition, one Tepoztecan fought in the Mexican squadron which went to the Philippines and he, too, spoke of his experiences.

Tepoztecans have not escaped the repercussions of international events in recent years. World War II led to conscription, toward which Tepoztecans reacted negatively. During the first few months of our field work in the village in 1943-44 an incident occurred which illustrates the local attitude. The son of the president of the municipio had been recruited and was on his way to Cuernavaca to report for duty. His bus was stopped and the boy was "kidnapped" by several men. It was common gossip that this act was planned by the boy's father who, as a result of it, was imprisoned in Cuernavaca for some time. Federal troops were sent into the village and there was much tension among the people. However, the affair blew over, and the villagers resigned themselves to conscription and military training for their sons.

Another way in which current international events influence the village is in the intensified campaign of the Roman Catholic Church throughout the Catholic world. Acción Católica has almost doubled its membership in Tepoztlán since 1943 as a result of the increased activity of the church. The sermons of the priest sometimes include warnings against the threat of Communism, a theme which was also heard in the local church immediately after the Mexican Revolution and in the twenties. Other than this, most Tepoztecans have no information about international trends or problems; they are ignorant of the United Nations, the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact, and even of national loans.

The geographical horizon of most Tepoztecans becomes a little more concrete when they think of Mexico. While the shape of the country and its boundaries may still be hazy, they know that Mexico is their country, that it has coasts on the east and west, that the Isthmus of Tehuantepec is very hot, while the north is cold. They also know that the people of Monterrey are "stingy" and that the Yucatecans have "square-heads." They have heard of Tampico and Vera Cruz as important ports, and that Mexico produces oil and minerals. They also know some of the names of the states of Mexico, and many have had occasion to deal personally not only with people from Mexico City and with other Morelenses, but also with Mexicans from different states. During the Revolution they came into contact with soldiers from diverse parts of the country; the Norteños del Coahuila camped in Tepoztlán for months, and the people still speak of their strange customs.

Of course, the geographic horizons of the younger generation which has had some years of schooling are quite different. The children study a little world geography and know the continents and major countries of the world. Most have studied the map of Mexico, and some of the youth are beginning to demonstrate a real nationalism.

The average Tepoztecan's notion of the geography of the state of Morelos is much more precise than his notion of the geography of the nation. Many Tepoztecans have traveled over large portions of the state, as well as neighboring regions, during the years of the Revolution. Others have taken trips for economic

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purposes, religious pilgrimages, or political reasons. Tepoztecans know what towns are to the north of the state of Morelos and have a pretty good notion of the products produced in the various parts of the state. Their work on haciendas to the south has also given them some familiarity with this part of the state. Some Tepoztecans are related by ties of marriage and *compadrazgo* with families in other parts of the state of Morelos.

There is an increasing identification of Tepoztecans with the Mexican nation and with the state of Morelos. The factors which relate the villagers to these larger entities are cultural, administrative, religious, political, and economic.

CULTURAL FACTORS

Perhaps the most important and decisive of the several cultural factors—the school, cultural missions, books and newspapers, the literacy campaign, and the movies—which tend to make for the formation of a sentiment of *mexicanidad* or Mexican nationalism is the school, where the younger generation learn about the history, geography, and economy of the country as a whole, and where a conscious effort is made to instill love of country.

THE SCHOOL

The school became more effective after the early twenties when the schools of the state of Morelos were federalized by means of a special agreement between the state and the nation. This led to the standardization of texts and teaching methods. But more important, the school personnel was recruited from various parts of Mexico rather than, as formerly, only from the state of Morelos. Since that time, Tepoztlán has had teachers from Yucatán, Jalisco, Nuevo León, and many other states. These teachers have different backgrounds and expose the children to the customs and sentiments of their respective regions. Thus, in the programs organized in the school, pupils have had the opportunity of seeing teachers dance the *jarabe tapatío*, the *raspa veracruzana*, and the *jarana yucateca*.

Squadron 201, the new school building named after a squadron of Mexican aviators who fought in the Philippines in World War II, stands as a symbol of *mexicanidad* to Tepoztecans. The school was constructed with national funds upon the direct order of President Avila Camacho in response to the request of a Tepoztecan who was a member of Squadron 201. Upon the return of the squadron to Mexico, President Camacho organized a public reception and at this time invited each member to ask for what he desired. The majority of the men asked for subsidies for their families, but Angel Bocanegra asked for a school for his village. Because of this he has become a great hero in the village, and among the younger generation has taken the place of the older regional and village heroes of the Revolution.

The school not only stimulates Mexican nationalism, but is also a powerful factor in developing the feeling of being a Morelense. The school teaches the geography and economy of the state in some detail. The text on the geography of

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There is a belief that if an eclipse occurs during a woman's pregnancy, the child will be born with some part of his body missing; that is, it will have been eaten by the moon. To prevent this the mother should wear a pair of scissors under her sash. An earthquake will also cause some physical defect in the child.

There are no diet restrictions for pregnant women. There is a widespread belief that the pregnant woman should satisfy any food whim, otherwise she may suffer a miscarriage or a premature birth, or the baby may be born with skin colorations. Many subsequent difficulties are assigned to the failure to satisfy food whims. It is the husband's obligation to provide his wife with the food she wishes. But women do not make frequent or unreasonable demands, particularly if their husbands are not "good" to them.

Women who are nauseated during the second and third months are treated with herbs which are said to decrease the water in the abdomen. Many women do not take this treatment because of the restriction in diet and movement that follows. They may not go out into the street for three days, they may not go to the fields or to the stream, they may not stand near a water jug.

There are no restrictions on sexual intercourse during pregnancy, and many continue to have intercourse up to the time of birth. No special positions are used in the last months to protect the fetus.

When there are signs of miscarriage, the midwife tries several remedies. The patient may be asked to recline on a *rebozo* or cloth and is then moved or jerked two or three times from one side to another by means of the cloth. Another remedy is to soak an old tortilla in water of *nixtamal* or vinegar and place it on the small of the back. A mixture of the following herbs is also used: *tlatlazcametl*,[6] *camotito de San Diego*,[7] and *muicle*.[8] To this some midwives add wine, chocolate, leaves of *Santa María* (*artemisa*),[9] and a gold earring to be boiled with the mixture. Miscarriages are not frequent, and when one occurs the woman is often blamed for bringing it about by carelessness.

Induced miscarriages are fairly common. But the frequent deaths in such cases deter most women, and it is said that women who try to "cure" themselves will have to account for their behavior on Judgment Day. Miscarriages are said to cause *paños* or brown discoloration of the skin, so that women who suffer from this are believed to have aborted frequently. To bring on delayed menstruation, many women drink *muicle*. Ground *chayotillos* with salt may be taken, or a tuber *aboyote* may be used. Another way is to use the same preparation which brings on labor. The ingredients are as follows: opossum tail (*tlacuache*), *pimienta gorda*, *sasalik*, and *tlatlatzcametl*. Sometimes women will bring about a miscarriage by deliberately lifting heavy objects. Many women, and particularly unmarried girls, secretly go to

[6] *Montanoa tomentosa*, a very well-known plant. See Maximiano Martínez, *Las Plantas Medicinales de México* (México, D. F.: México Ediciones Botas, 1939), p. 330.

[7] Unidentified.

[8] *Jacobinia spicigera*, *ibid.*

[9] Unidentified.